

FOLLOW THE MONEY: CHUCK GRASSLEY DOXES THE ENTIRE FAR RIGHT

In support of his efforts to Twitter Files the January 6 investigation, Chuck Grassley just released 179 subpoenas and a summary of them sent out between September 2022 and June 2023.

The release is definitely serving *his* purposes. One after another far right wing propagandist is screaming, Worse than Watergate!!!

But the may also be an absolute gold mine for people trying to reconstruct what Trump did in 2020, to say nothing of political oppo researchers and foreign hackers. The subpoenas provide a map of all the political organizations that were close to Trump in 2020 to 2021, organized by person; not all of these are public and certainly not in such a readily usable form. They list where people – including some people who are exceedingly important in Trump's current administration – banked during the 2020 election (and if China hacks DOJ servers, it provides them a roadmap to find the actual bank account numbers).

Yet much of the general thrust of the subpoenas are not new. Indeed, many of them were reported in real time and laid out in an appendix of the J6C Report, which I wrote about [here](#).

False advertising

As J6C laid out, Trump's team decided to keep fundraising after he lost the election, purportedly in the guise of a recount and/or election integrity.

The claims made in the fundraising materials made knowingly false claims – so much so that the RNC stopped running them. J6C did a number of

interviews and served a number of subpoenas to find out more.

But they hit roadblocks. For example, the RNC succeeded in fighting a Salesforce-related subpoena to learn more about what a whistleblower told them about concerns raised internally.

The Trump Campaign knew that emails that the Approvals Group had blessed were being rejected by Iterable. However, the RNC continued to send millions of Trump Campaign emails through Salesforce, TMAGAC's original email service provider, up until January 6th. Evidence uncovered by the Select Committee shows that there were internal concerns at Salesforce regarding the content of the TMAGAC emails.

The Select Committee interviewed an individual ("J. Doe") who worked at Salesforce during the post-election period during which TMAGAC was sending out the fundraising emails concerning false election fraud claims.¹⁴⁷ Doe worked for Salesforce's privacy and abuse management team, colloquially known as the abuse desk.¹⁴⁸ An abuse desk is responsible for preventing fraud and abuse emanating from the provider's user or subscriber network.

Doe indicated to the Select Committee that, as soon as early 2020, they recalled issues arising with the RNC's use of Salesforce's services and that a "deluge of abuse would've started in June-ish."¹⁴⁹ Doe noted that Salesforce received a high number of complaints regarding the RNC's actions, which would have been primarily the fundraising efforts of TMAGAC.¹⁵⁰ In the latter half of 2020, Doe noticed that the emails coming from the RNC's account included more and more violent and inflammatory rhetoric in violation of Salesforce's

Master Service Agreement (“MSA”) with the RNC, which prohibited the use of violent content.¹⁵¹ Doe stated that, near the time of the election, they contacted senior individuals at Salesforce to highlight the “increasingly concerning” emails coming from the RNC’s account.¹⁵² Doe explained that senior individuals at Salesforce effectively ignored their emails about TMAGAC’s inflammatory emails ¹⁵³ and Salesforce ignored the terms of the MSA and permitted the RNC to continue touse its account in this problematic manner.¹⁵⁴ Doe said, “Salesforce very obviously didn’t care about anti-abuse.”¹⁵⁵

There’s no evidence the RNC and Salesforce had the same success with this December 2022 subpoena.

That led to a series of even more interesting subpoenas sent in March 2023 to individuals who worked this side of things at the RNC.

The subpoenas asked for materials pertaining to fundraising in the name of election integrity after the election, and named some of the people involved.

B. Regardless of time period, all documents related to the “Election Defense Fund” or “Official Election Defense Fund” referenced in the fundraising emails sent out between November 3, 2020 and January 20, 2021.

C. For the time period of November 3, 2020 through January 20, 2021, all communications between or among or referencing you and one or more of the following individuals or entities:

1. Benjamin Angle;
2. Rudy Giuliani;
3. Jason Miller;

4. Andrew Surabian;
5. Donald Trump, Jr.;
6. Eric Trump;
7. Lara Trump;

The subpoenas asked, among other things, for details of advertising targeting Mike Pence.

D. For the time period of November 3, 2020 through January 20, 2021, all documents related to:

1. The use of Michael R. Pence's name in fundraising, including but not limited to whether his name could or would continue to be used in fundraising;
2. Any individual indicating that they do not want to be, or no longer would be, a surrogate in fundraising emails; and/or
3. All joint fundraising efforts involving the RNC, all documents related to any changes as to what entities would participate in any fundraising campaign and/or how the funds raised would be divided among participating entities.

And asked for evidence that the RNC knew Trump was lying.

K. For the time period of November 3, 2020 through January 20, 2021, all documents related to any disagreement, whether as to tone or substance or anything else, the RNC or any of its employees, agents, or contractors had with any statement made by or on behalf of Donald J. Trump, anyone affiliated with the Trump Campaign, anyone affiliated (formally or informally) with the White House, including, but not limited to statements made by Donald J. Trump, Eric Trump, Donald J. Trump, Jr.,

Lara Trump, Rudy Giuliani, Sidney Powell, and/or Jenna Ellis. L. All documents related to or referencing January 6, 2021, the Rally, and/or the subsequent march to and breach of the United States Capitol.

There may even be newly disclosed domains that people can track in this material.

Payoffs

J6C focused on another aspect of this fundraising, too: how Trump *spent* the money raised by lying to his rubes, partly by paying off those who had been loyal to him.

The Trump Campaign spent the money on President Trump, giving donations to his associates, and keeping it for himself in Save America. Hundreds of millions of dollars that were raised to go towards “election defense” and “fighting voter fraud” were not spent that way at all. To the contrary, most of the funds remain unspent, and millions have been paid to companies that are known affiliates of President Trump, or payments to entities associated with former Trump administration officials. Since the election, former Trump officials who are still working for President Trump’s PACs, and are publicly receiving salaries as FEC-reported “payroll,” are also associated with these companies.

For example, from July 2021 to the present, Save America has been paying approximately \$9,700 per month to Dan Scavino,¹⁷¹ a political adviser who served in the Trump administration as White House Deputy Chief of Staff.¹⁷² Save America was also paying \$20,000 per month to an entity called Hudson Digital LLC. Hudson Digital LLC was registered in Delaware twenty days after the attack

on the Capitol, on January 26, 2021,¹⁷³ and began receiving payments from Save America on the day it was registered.¹⁷⁴ Hudson Digital LLC has received payments totaling over \$420,000, all described as “Digital consulting.”¹⁷⁵ No website or any other information or mention of Hudson Digital LLC could be found online.¹⁷⁶ Though Hudson Digital LLC is registered as a Delaware company, the FEC Schedule B listing traces back to an address belonging to Dan and Catherine Scavino.¹⁷⁷

Nick Luna, President Trump’s former personal assistant and “body man,” was being paid from April 2021 to December 2021 approximately \$12,000 per month by Save America for “payroll.”¹⁷⁸ The Make America Great Again PAC (MAGA PAC)—formerly the authorized committee of President Trump’s reelection campaign, Donald J. Trump for President—paid \$20,000 per month to a limited liability corporation called Red State Partners LLC from April 2021 through October 2021, and Save America paid Red State Partners LLC \$20,000 in February 2022.¹⁷⁹ The company was registered in Delaware on March 11, 2021¹⁸⁰ and has received a total of \$170,000.¹⁸¹ Though it is registered in Delaware, disclosures filed with the Federal Election Committee (FEC) list Red State Partners at an address in Miami, Florida, that is an address for Nick Luna and his wife, Cassidy Dumbauld.¹⁸²

Further, Vince Haley, Taylor Swindle, and Ross Worthington are corporate officers of a company known as Pericles LLC.¹⁸³ Haley is a former policy advisor to President Trump,¹⁸⁴ Swindle is the Chief Financial Officer for Gingrich 360,¹⁸⁵ and Ross Worthington is the former White House speechwriter¹⁸⁶ who

wrote the speech President Trump delivered on the Ellipse on January 6th.¹⁸⁷ Pericles LLC was registered on January 27, 2021,¹⁸⁸ the day after Scavino's Hudson Digital LLC, and, since then, has received payments from Save America totaling at least \$352,700.¹⁸⁹

There are corresponding subpoenas for much of this activity (indeed, it explains a great deal of the subpoenas).

But it could have been worse! Jack Smith appears not to have subpoenaed a suspect payment to Melania's designer, "Herve Pierre Braillard," one of the odd payments made out of this money.

Brad Parscale

There's over a dozen subpoenas, dating to the period immediately following Jack Smith's appointment, for information pertaining to Brad Parscale, which may address some of the financial shenanigans he was engaged in that became public in real time.

I'm not sure all of these were public before. They're now all mapped out.

Closely (potentially directly) related to that series is a January 2023 subpoena asking for Know Your Customer information (that is, money laundering) from Paychex and ADP. The subpoena includes America First Legal Foundation which, AFLF people keep squealing about on Xitter, wasn't founded until after January 6.

Documentation listed below for the time period of January 2019 -Present for the following:

1. Compass Professional Inc. and/or any customer associated with National Capital Bank account [REDACTED].
2. Conservative Partnership Institute Inc. and/or any customer associated with National Capital Bank account [REDACTED].
3. Center for Renewing America Inc. and/or any customer associated with National Capital Bank account [REDACTED].
4. Compass Legal Services Inc. and/or any customer associated with National Capital Bank account [REDACTED].
5. America First Legal Foundation and/or any customer associated with National Capital Bank account [REDACTED].

The theory behind some of this, as laid out by J6C, is that money was raised under one theory

and shared with others. These two were the sole subpoenas pertaining to AFLF; there's no evidence they did anything wrong. But now they've given cause to look more closely.

Joint Defense Agreements paid by political PACs

Particularly in the stolen documents case, we learned that Susie Wiles vetted people for their loyalty before paying for their defense.

Prosecutors sent out a series of subpoenas in March 2023 to Trump's PACs asking for details (and retainer agreements) of law firms paid by political organizations that purported to serve Trump's election.

A number of those law firms were public. But here's the full list:

1. Abel Bean Law P.A.
2. Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld
3. Bedell, Dittmar, DeVault, Pillans
4. Brand Woodward Law
5. Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft
6. Clark Hill PLC
7. Compass Legal Group
8. Compass Legal Services, Inc
9. Dhillon Law Group Inc
10. Earth & Water Law LLC
11. Elections, LLC
12. Greenberg Traurig
13. Jones Day
14. JPRowley Law PLLC
15. Kasowitz, Benson, Torress LLP

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16. Marino, Tortorella & Boyle, P.C.
 17. McGuireWoods LLP
 18. Mintz Levin Cohn Ferris Glovsk
 19. Neal & Harwell, PLC
 20. Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough
 21. Parlatore Law Group, LLP
 22. Squire Patton Boggs (US) LLP
 23. Statecraft PLLC
 24. The Binnall Law Group
 25. The Garber Group LLC

Some of these – like the law firm Stanley Brand shared with Stan Woodward – have long been central to the Trump investigation narrative. Others, though, are newly disclosed thanks to Chuck Grassley.

Previously unknown people

Right wingers are busy on Xitter pointing to individual subpoenas that, in the process, identify people not previously known to have had any role in January 6. For example, SJC Republicans pointed to this December 16, 2022 subpoena for Robert Gasaway, which appears to be the only one that asks for his contacts with DOJ, with Congress, or with the campaign. It is also one of just six that asked for any communications, “To, from, with, or involving any member of law enforcement relating to any allegation of fraud or lack of fraud in the 2020 Presidential Election,” which is another interesting request.

All of which is to say, there’s a whole lot of screaming over on Xitter about this.

But the people whose potential involvement in Trump’s attempt to cheat his donors is newly

disclosed should be screaming at Chuck Grassley rather than what he disclosed. Because he really exposed a great deal of new information useful for researchers.